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played cards and I lost half a rupiah, so I had only two left. [The informant's account seemed full of internal contradictions.]

[It was evident at this point that the informant was blocking in his autobiography. I dropped the daily sessions for three days. During that time Fantan was engaged in a vigorous quarrel with his wife, Tilamau. On the fourth day he came early in the morning and told me the following story, which I have recast into the third person and in which I have inserted such observations as I was able to make.]

November 22, 1938

About a month ago Fantan's wife gambled and lost her dance necklace and anklets. Fantan said he gave her money to try to win them back, but she only lost that too. He was angry, and in telling me about it he put his anger on the moral basis that women should not play cards though it was all right for men. "Young women can play cards because they don't have to work and remember their families, but married women have to work. Besides, women just go on and on. They gamble away all they have, even their shawls. If they don't have shawls to wear during their menstrual periods it isn't nice."

On Friday (November 18) Fantan was wandering about and joined in a game in a remote garden house where some unmarried girls were gambling. One of the girls, Fungata, had just lost most of her anklets and her necklace. She had only two anklets left. Fantan said if she would give him her two remaining anklets he would win the others back for her. He lost the two anklets and then said (although he admitted to me that he was lying) that he had twenty-five cents in his pocket and would stake fifteen cents of that against the lost articles. He had a winning streak and won back all that the girl had lost. Instead of keeping them, as he was entitled to do, he returned them to her.

Early Sunday morning (November 20) while he was away two of the girls present at the gambling told his wife about the episode. When he returned from an early market where he had been with me, his wife berated him for returning the jewelry to Fungata when she herself had none, and for not winning hers back for her. She asked if Fungata were his sister or maybe his wife and implied that he had had intercourse with her. She boxed his ears, and he picked up a rattan switch and hit her twice across the thigh. She took her field knife and hit his shoulder with the flat of the blade. He was terrorized and told me he had a large wound. This was patently untrue; he had not even a scratch. When I pointed this out he said, "Well, I might have had a large wound."

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I had dug some sweet potatoes and asked who would go with me to Kalabahi to sell them. Those two said they were going to sell betel catkins and we could go together. [Question.] We were about the same age. [Was your mother angry or worried at your long stay?] Mother asked, "Why were you gone so long?" So I told her what had happened. Mother asked what I had bought. I said I had bought cloth. Mother said, "Oh, I was angry because I thought you would come back empty-handed." [Was it your first cloth?] No. For my first shawl I pounded rice and Lonpada took it to Likuwatang, where she exchanged it for cloth while I cared for her son. That first shawl was worth one rupiah and twenty-five cents. Lonpada had given me this rice to pound in the first place. [Did you spend all your rupiah and a half on cloth in Kalabahi?] Yes, I spent it all on a shawl for myself. The sweet potatoes brought only five cents, and I spent those to buy cassava to eat while we worked. [Did you work for the policeman because you wanted to?] We didn't want to because we were afraid of being hungry. He carried a stick and we were afraid he might hit us if we stopped at midday when the sun was hot. We didn't want to work, but we were afraid not to.

After I had worked in Kalabahi I stayed home about one week and then went back to sell some more things. On the way home we stopped at Benleleng, and there were boys there who said, "Let's play cards." They were Nicolas and Djetmani. There were three girls—I, Kolata, and Fuifani. [All unmarried boys and girls.] The boys knew how to play cards, but we didn't yet. We put our money down and they took it all. Then we fought about it. We spent the night there and went on home in the early morning. As we walked they asked for water and areca, but we wouldn't give them any. We said, "If you want water, pay for it." When we got back to Laling Mountain, the boys said "We had better give them some of this back." So they gave each of us one cent. We had each lost fifteen cents.

When we got home, we said, "When we play cards, the men take our money. Let us go into the field and play with corn and beans as money so we can learn how." The boys gave us the lower cards of the pack and they kept the face cards. We girls played together in the fields, betting with food, and if we were lucky we would even bet our bracelets and anklets. [Do you still gamble?] No, I don't want to play cards any more. When a girl is single she can, but when she marries she doesn't want to any more.